

A Common Sense

AMERICAN CRISIS

NUMBER I.

BY THE AUTHOR OF *COMMON SENSE*



THESSE are the times that try men's souls: The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: The dearest only things give every thing its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods: and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as *Freedom* should not be highly priced. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to tax) but "*to bind us in every case whatsoever*," and if being bound in that manner is slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious, for so unlimited a power can belong only to God.

Whether the Independence of the Continent was declared too soon, or delayed too long, I will not now enter into argument; my own simple opinion is, that had it been declared months earlier, it would have been much better. It would have made a proper use of last winter, neither could we have been in a dependant state. However, the time is now

was all our own ; we have none to blame but ourselves. But no great deal is lost yet ; all that Howe has been doing for this month past is rather a ravage than a conquest, which the spirit of the Jerseys a year ago would have quickly repulsed, and which time and a little resolution will soon recover.

I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who had so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose, that *He* has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils ; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the king of Britain can look up to Heaven for help against us : A common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker, has as good a pretence as he.

'Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country. All nations and ages have been subject to them ; Britain has trembled like an ague at the report of a French fleet of flat-bottomed boats ; and in the fourteenth century the whole English army, after ravaging the kingdom of France, was driven back like men petrified with fear ; and this brave exploit was performed by a few broken force collected and headed by a woman, Joan of Arc. Would that Heaven might inspire some Jersey maid to spirit up her countrymen, and save her fair fellow-sufferers from ravage and ravishment ! Yet panicks, in some cases, have their uses ; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short : the mind soon grows through them, and requires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy, and bring things and men to light, which might otherwise have lain forever undiscovered. In fact, they have the same effect on secret traitors, which an imaginary apparition would upon a private murderer. They sift out the hidden thoughts of man, and hold them up in public to the world. May a
disguised

" *"The present winter" (meaning the last) "is worth an age, if
" rightly employed, but if lost or neglected, the whole Continent shall
" partake of its evil ; and there is no punishment that man does not de-
" serve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means
" of sacrificing a season so precious and useful."* COMMON SENSE.

disguised Tory has lately shown his head, that shall penitentially solemnize with carols, the day on which Howe arrived upon the Delaware.

As I was with the troops at fort Lee, and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania, I am well acquainted with many circumstances, which those, who lived at a distance, know but little or nothing of. Our situation there was exceedingly cramped, the place being on a narrow neck of land, between the North river and the Hackensack. Our force was inconsiderable, being not one fourth so great as Howe could bring against us. We had no army at hand to have relieved the garrison, had we shut ourselves up and stood on the defence. Our ammunition, light artillery, and the best part of our stores, had been removed upon the apprehension that Howe would endeavor to penetrate the Jerseys in which case fort Lee could be of no use to us; for it must occur to every thinking man, whether in the army or not, that these kind of field forts are only for temporary purposes, and last in use no longer than the enemy directs his force against the particular object, which such forts are raised to defend. Such was our situation and condition at fort Lee, on the morning of the 30th of November, when an officer arrived with information, that the enemy with 200 boats, had landed about seven or eight miles above: Major-General Green, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered them under arms, and sent expresses to his Excellency General Washington at the town of Hackensack, distant by the way of the ferry six miles. Our first object was to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, which laid up the river between the enemy and us, about six miles from us and three from them. General Washington arrived in about three quarters of an hour, and marched at the head of the troops towards the bridge, which place I expected we should have a brush for; however they did not chuse to dispute it with us, and the greatest part of our troops went over the bridge, the rest over the ferry, except some which passed at a mill on a small creek, between the bridge and the ferry, and made their way through some marshy grounds up to the town of Hackensack, and there passed the river. We brought off as much baggage as the waggons could contain, the rest was lost. The simple object was to bring off the garrison, and to march them on till they could be strengthened by the Jersey or Pennsylvania militia, so as to be enabled to make a stand. We staid four days at Newark, collected in our

our out-posts, with some of the Jersey militia, and marched on twice to meet the enemy on information of their being advancing, though our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. Howe, in my little opinion, committed a great error in generalship. He might have seized all our stores at Brunswick, and intercepted our march into Pennsylvania: But, if we believe the power of Hell to be limited, we must likewise believe that their agents are under some providential controul.

I shall not now attempt to give all the particulars of our retreat to the Delaware; suffice it for the present to say, that both officers and men, though greatly harrassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision, the inevitable consequences of a long retreat, bore it with a manly and martial spirit. All their wishes were one, which was, that the country would turn out and help them to drive the enemy back. Voltaire has remarked, that King William never appeared to full advantage but in difficulties and in action; the same remark may be made on General Washington, for the Character fits him. There is a natural firmness in some minds which cannot be unlocked by trifles, but which, when unlocked, discovers a cabinet of fortitude; and I reckon it among those kind of public blessings, which we do not immediately see, that God hath blest him with uninterrupted health, and given him a mind that can ever flourish upon care.

I shall conclude this paper with some miscellaneous remarks on the state of our affairs; and shall begin with asking the following question, why is it that the enemy hath left the New-England provinces, and made these middle ones the seat of war? The answer is easy: New-England is not infested with Tories, and we are. I have been tender in raising the cry against these men, and used numberless arguments to shew them their danger, but it will not do to sacrifice a world to either their folly or their baseness. The period is now arrived, in which either they or we must change our sentiments, or one or both must fall. And what is a Tory? Good God! what is he? I should not be afraid to go with a hundred Whigs against a thousand Tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every Tory is a coward, for a servile, slavish, self-interested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave.

But before the line of irrecoverable separation be drawn between us, let us reason the matter together. Your conduct

is an invitation to the enemy; yet not one in a thousand of you has heart enough to join him. Howe is as much deceived by you as the American cause is injured by you. He expects you will all take up arms, and flock to his standard with muskets on your shoulders. Your opinions are of no use to him, unless you support him personally; for 'tis soldiers, and not Tories that he wants.

I once felt all that kind of anger, which a man ought to feel, against the mean principles that are held by the Tories. A noted one, who kept a tavern at Amboy, was standing at his door, with as pretty a child in his hand, about eight or nine years old, as most I ever saw, and after speaking his mind as freely as he thought was prudent, finished with this unfatherly expressions: "*Well I give me peace in my day.*" Not a man lives on the Continent but fully believes that a separation must sometime or other finally take place, and a generous parent would have said, "*If there must be trouble, let it be in my day, that my child may have peace;*" and this single reflection, well applied, is sufficient to awaken every man to duty. Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but trade with them. A man may easily distinguish in himself between temper and principle, and I am as confident as I am that God governs the world, that America will never be happy till she gets clear of foreign dominion. Wars, without ceasing, will break out till that period arrives, and the Continent must in the end be conqueror; for though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal never can expire.

America did not, nor does not want force; but she wanted a proper application of that force. Wisdom is not the purchase of a day, and it is no wonder that we should err at first setting off. From an excess of tenderness we were unwilling to raise an army, and trusted our cause to the temporary defence of a well-meaning militia. A summer's experience has now taught us better; yet, with those troops, while they were collected, we were able to set bounds to the progress of the enemy, and thank God! they are again assembling. I always considered a militia as the best troops in the world for a sudden exertion, but they will not do for a long campaign. Howe, it is probable, will make an attempt on this city; should he fail on this side the Delaware, he is ruined; if he succeeds, our cause is not ruined. He stakes all on his side
against

against a part on ours; admitting he succeeds, the consequence will be, that armies from both ends of the Continent will march to assist their suffering friends in the middle States; for he cannot go every where, it is impossible. I consider Howe as the greatest enemy the Tories have; he is bringing a war into their country, which had it not been for him, and partly for themselves, they had been clear of. Should he be now expelled, I wish, with all the devotion of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory may never more be mentioned; but should the Tories give him encouragement to come, or assistance if he come, I as sincerely wish that our next year's arms may expel them from the Continent, and the Congress appropriate their possessions to the relief of those who have suffered in well doing. A single successful battle next year will settle the whole. America would carry on a two years war by the confiscation of the property of disaffected persons, and be made happy by their expulsion. Say not that this is revenge, call it rather the soft resentment of a suffering people, who, having no object in view but the *Good of All*, having staked their *own All* upon a seemingly doubtful event. Yet it is folly to argue against determined hardness; eloquence may strike the ear, and the language of sorrow draw forth the tear of compassion, but nothing can reach the heart that is steeled with prejudice.

Quitting this class of men, I turn with the warm ardour of a friend to those who have nobly stood, and are yet determined to stand the matter out. I call not upon a few, but upon all; not on *this State* or *that State*, but on *every State*; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and repulse it. Say not, that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burthen of the day upon Providence, but "*show your faith by your works,*" that God may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, shall suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now, is dead: The blood of his children shall curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made

made them happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, than can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light. Not all the treasures of the world, so far as I believe, could have induced me to support an offensive war, for I think it murder; but if a thief breaks into my house, burns and destroys my property, and endeavours to kill me, or those that are in it, and to "bind me in all cases whatsoever," to his absolute will, am I to suffer it? What signifies it to me, whether he who does it, is a king or a common man; my countryman or not my countryman? whether it is done by an individual villain, or an army of them? If we reason to the root of things we shall find no difference; neither can any just cause be assigned why we should punish in the one case, and pardon in the other. Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one, whose character is that of a fortify, stupid, stubborn, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrinking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow and the slain of America.

There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil that threaten them; they solace themselves with hopes, that the enemy, if they succeed, will be merciful. It is the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war: The cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf; and we ought to guard equally against both. Howe's first object is partly by threats and partly by promises, to terrify or seduce the people to deliver up their arms and receive mercy. The ministry recommended the same plan to Gage, and this is what the Tories call making their peace; "*a peace which passeth all understanding*" Indeed! A peace which would be the immediate forerunner of a worse ruin than any we have yet thought of. Ye men of Pennsylvania, do reason upon those things! Were the back counties to give up their arms, they would fall an easy prey to the Indians, who are all armed.

This

This perhaps is what some Tories would not be sorry for. Were the home counties to deliver up their arms, they would be exposed to the resentment of the back counties, who would then have it in their power to chastise their defection at pleasure. And were any one State to give up its arms, *that* State must be garrisoned by all Howe's army of Britons and Hessians to preserve it from the anger of the rest. Mutual fear is a principal link in the chain of mutual love, and woe be to that State that breaks the compact. Howe is mercifully inviting you to barbarous destruction, and men must be either rogues or fools that will not see it. I dwell not upon the vapours of imagination; I bring reason to your ears; and in language, as plain as A, B, C, hold up truth to your eyes.

I thank God that I fear not, I see no real cause for fear. I know our situation well, and can see the way out of it. While our army was collected, Howe dared not risk a battle, and it is no credit to him that he decamped from the White Plains, and waited a mean opportunity to ravage the defenceless Jerseys; but it is great credit to us, that with a handful of men, we sustained an orderly retreat for near an hundred miles, brought off our ammunition, all our field-pieces, the greatest part of our stores, and had four rivers to pass. None can lay that our retreat was precipitate, for we were near three weeks in performing it, that the country might have time to come in. Twice we marched back to meet the enemy and remained out till dark. The sign of fear was not seen in our camp, and had not some of the cowardly and disaffected inhabitants spread false alarms through the country, the Jerseys had never been ravaged. Once more we are again collected and collecting; our new army at both ends of the Continent is recruiting fast, and we shall be able to open the next campaign with sixty thousand men, well armed and clothed. This is our situation, and who will may know it. By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue: by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils—a ravaged country—a depopulated city—habitations without safety, and slavery without hope—our homes turned into barracks and bandy houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for, whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture, and weep over it!—and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented.



AMERICAN CRISIS,

NUMBER II.

BY THE AUTHOR OF COMMON SENSE.

TO LORD HOWE.

*What's in the name of Lord that I should fear,
To bring my grievances to the public ear.*

CHURCHILL.

UNIVERSAL empire is the prerogative of a writer. His concerns are with all mankind, and though he cannot command their obedience, he can assign them their duty. The republic of letters is more ancient than monarchy, and of far higher character in the world than the vassal court of Britain; he that rebels against reason is a real rebel, but he that in defence of reason, rebels against tyranny, has a better title to DARTMOUTH than George the Third.

As a military man your Lordship may hold out the sword of war, and call it the *ULTIMA RATIO REGUM*: *The last Reason of Kings*; we in return can show you the sword of justice, and call it, "The best Scourge of Tyrants." The list of these two may threaten, or even frighten, for a while, and cast a sickly languor over an insulted people, but reason will soon recover the debauch, and restore them again to tranquil solitude. Your Lordship, I find, has now commenced author, and published a proclamation; I too have published a crisis: as they stand, they are the antipodes of each other; both cannot rise at once, and one of them must descend: And so quick is the revolution of things, that your Lordship's performance, I see, has already fallen many degrees from its first place, and is now just visible on the edge of the political horizon.

It is forgetting to what pitch of insatiation blind folly and obduracy will carry mankind, and your Lordship's drowsy proclamation is a proof that it does not even quit them in their sleep. Perhaps you thought America too was taking a nap, and therefore, chose, like Satan to Eve, to whisper the delusion softly, lest you should awake her. This Continent, Sir, is too extensive to sleep all at once, and too watchful, even in its slumbers, not to startle at the unhallowed foot of an intruder. You may issue your proclamations and welcome, for we have learned to "reverence ourselves," and scorn the insinuating ruffian that employs you. America for your deceased brother's sake would gladly have shown you respect, and it is a new aggravation to her feelings that *Heur* should be forgetful, and raise his sword against those, who at their own charge raised a monument to his brother. But your walter has commanded, and you have not enough of nature left to refuse. Surely! there must be something strangely degenerating in the love of monarchy, that can so completely wear a man down to an ingrate, and make him proud to lift the dust that kings have trod upon. A few more years, should you survive them, will bellow on you the title of an old man, and in some hour of future reflection you may probably find the fitness of Woolley's despairing penitence, "*Had I served my GOD as faithfully as I served my King, he would not thus have forsaken me in my old age.*"

The character you appear to us in is truly ridiculous. Your friends, the Tories, announced your coming with high descriptions of your unlimited powers; but your proclamation has given them the lie, by showing you to be a Commissioner without authority. Had your powers been ever so great, they were nothing to us, farther than we pleased; because we had the same right which other nations had, to do what we thought was best. "*THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,*" will sound as pompously in the world or in history as "*The Kingdom of Great Britain;*" The character of *General Washington* will fill a page with as much honour as that of *Lord Howe*; and the *Congress* have as much right to command the *King* and *Parliament* of London, to desist from legislation, as they or you have to command the *Congress*. Only suppose how laughable such an edict would appear from us, and then, in that merry mood, do but turn the tables upon yourself, and you will see how your proclamation is received here. Having

ring thus placed you in a proper position, in which you may have a full view of folly and learn to desist. I held up to you, for that purpose, the following quotation from your own American proclamation: "And We (Lord Howe and General Howe) do command, (and in his Majesty's name far be it) all such persons as are assembled together under the name of General or Provincial Congresses, Committees, Conventions, or other Associations, by whatever name or names known or distinguished, to desist and cease from all such treasonable doings, and doings."

You introduce your proclamation by referring to your declarations of the 14th of July and 19th of September. In the last of these, you sunk yourself below the character of a private gentleman. That I may not seem to accuse you unjustly, I shall state the circumstance: By a verbal invitation of yours, communicated to Congress by General Sullivan, then a prisoner on his parole, you signified your desire of conferring with some members of that body as private gentlemen. It was beneath the dignity of the American Congress to pay any regard to a message that at best was but a genteel affront, and had too much of the ministerial complexion of tampering with private persons; and which might probably have been the case, had the gentlemen who were deputed on that business, possessed that only kind of virtue which an English cavalier is so truly distinguished by. Your request however was complied with, for honest men are naturally more tender of their civil than their political fame. The interview ended as every sensible man thought it would: for your Lordship knows as well as the writer of the Crisis, that it is impossible for the King of England to promise the repeal, or even the revival, of any acts of parliament; wherefore, on your part, you had nothing to say, more than to request, in the room of demanding, the entire surrender of the Continent; and then, if that was complied with, the promise that the inhabitants should escape with their lives. That was the result of the conference. You informed the Congress that you were two months in soliciting these powers. We all, what powers? for as Commissioner you have none. If you regain the power of pardoning, it is an oblique proof that your master was determined to sacrifice all before him; and that you were two months in dissuading him from his purpose. Another evidence of his savage obstinacy! From your own ac-

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count of the matter we may justly draw these two conclusions ; first, that you serve a monster ; and secondly, that never was a commissioner sent on a more foolish errand than yourself. This plain language may perhaps sound uncouthly to an ear vitiated by courtly refinements ; but words were made for use, and the fault lies in deserving them, or the abuse in applying them unfairly.

Soon after your return to New-York you published a very illiberal and unmanly hand-bill against the Congress ; for it was certainly stepping out of the line of common civility, first to screen your national pride by soliciting an interview with them as private gentlemen, and in the conclusion to endeavour to deceive the multitude by making an hand-bill attack on the whole body of the Congress ; you got them together under one name, and abused them under another. But the King you serve and the cause you support, afford you so few instances of acting the gentleman, that out of pity to your situation, the Congress pardoned the insult by taking no notice of it.

You say in that hand-bill, " that they, the Congress, dis-
" vowed every purpose for reconciliation not consonant with
" their extravagant and inadmissible claims of Independence." Why, God bless me ! what have you to do with our Independence ! we ask no leave of yours to sit it up ; we ask no money of yours to support it ; we can do better without your fleets and armies than with them ; you may soon have enough to do to protect yourselves without being bolstered with us. We are very willing to be at peace with you, so any of you and sell to you, and, like young beginners in the world, to work for our own living ; therefore, why do you put yourselves out of cash, when we know you cannot spare it, and we do not desire you to run into debt ! I am willing, Sir, you should see your folly in every view I can place it, and for that reason desecnd sometimes to tell you in jest what I wish to say in earnest. But to be more serious with you, why do you say " their" Independence ! To set you right, Sir, we tell you, that the independency is *ours*, not *theirs*. The Congress were authorised by every State of the Continent to publish it to all the world, and in so doing are not to be considered as the inventors, but only as the heralds that proclaimed it, or the office from which the sense of the people received a legal form ; and it was as much as any or all their heads were worth

worth, to have treated with you on the subject of submission under any name whatever. But we knew the men in whom we trusted; and England say the same of the parliament.

I come now more particularly to your proclamation of the 30th of November last. Had you gained an entire conquest over all the armies of America, and then put forth a proclamation, offering (what you call) mercy, your conduct would have had some specious show of humanity; but to creep by surprise into a province, and there endeavour to terrify and seduce the inhabitants from their just allegiance to the rest by promises, which you neither meant nor were able to fulfil, is both cruel and unmanly: Cruel in its effects; because, notwithstanding you can heap all the ground you have march'd over, how are you, in the words of your proclamation, to secure to your proselytes "the enjoyment of their property?" What are to become either of your new adopted subjects, or your old friends the Tories, in Burlington, Burlington, Trenton, Moutholly, and many other places, where you proudly landed it for a few days, and then fled with the precipitation of a pursued thief? What, I say, are to become of those wretches? What are to become of those who went over to you from this city, and State? What more can you say to them than "*Shift for yourselves!*" Or what more can they hope for than to wander like vagabonds over the face of the earth? You may now tell them to take their leave of America, and all that once was theirs. Recommend them, for consolation, to your master's arms; these perhaps they may make a shift to live on the scraps of some dangling parasite, and choose companions among thousands like themselves. A traitor is the foulest fiend on earth!

In a political sense wought to thank you for thus bequeathing estates to the Continent; we shall soon, at this rate, be able to carry on a war without expence, and grow rich by the ill policy of Lord Howe, and the generous detection of the Tories. Had you set your feet into this city you would have bestowed estates upon us which we never thought of, by bringing forth traitors we were unwilling to suspect. But these men, you'll say, "*are his Majesty's most faithful Subjects!*" let that honor then be all their fortune, and let his Majesty take them to himself.

I am now thoroughly disgusted with them; they live in ungrateful ease, and bend their whole minds to mischief. It seems as if God had given them over to a spirit of infidelity,
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and that they are open to conviction in no other line but that of punishment. It is time to have done with tarring, feathering, carting, and taking securities for their future good behaviour; every sensible man must feel a conscious shame at seeing a poor fellow hawked for a show about the streets, when it is known that he is only the tool of some principal villain, bluffed into his offence by the force of false reasoning, or bribed thereto through sad necessity. We dishonor ourselves by attacking such trifling characters, while greater ones are suffered to escape; 'tis our duty to find *them* out, and their proper punishment would be to exile them from the Continent forever. The circle of them is not so great as some imagine; the influence of a few have tainted many who are not naturally corrupt. A continual circulation of lies among those who are not much in the way of hearing them contradicted, will in time pass for truth; and the crime lies not in the believer but the inventor. I am not for declaring war against every man that appears not so warm as myself: Difference of constitution, temper, habit of speaking, and many other things will go a great way in fixing the outward character of a man; yet simple honesty may remain at bottom. Some men have naturally a military turn, and can brave hardships and the risk of life with a cheerful face; others have not, no slavery appears to them so great as the fatigue of arms, and no terror so powerful as that of personal danger: What can we say? We cannot alter nature, neither ought we to punish the son because the father begot him in a cowardly mood. However, I believe most men have more courage than they know of, and that a little at first is enough to begin with. I knew the time when I thought that the whistling of a cannon ball would have frightened me almost to death; but I have since tried it, and find that I can stand it with as little discomposure, and, (I believe) with a much easier conscience than your Lordship. The same dread would return to me again were I in your situation, for my solemn belief of your cause is, that it is hellish and damnable, and under that conviction every thinking man's heart *must* fail him.

From a concern that a good cause should be dishonoured by the least disunion among us, I said in my former paper, No. 1, "That should the enemy now be expelled, I wish with all the sincerity of a Christian, that the names of Whig and Tory might never more be mentioned;" but there

is a knot of men among us of such a venomous cast, that they will not admit even one's good wishes to act in their favour. Instead of rejoicing that Heaven had, as it were, providentially preserved this city from plunder and destruction, by delivering so great a part of the enemy into our hands with so little effusion of blood, they stubbornly affected to disbelieve it till within an hour, say half an hour, of the prisoners arriving: And the Quakers put forth a testimony, dated the 20th of December, signed "*John Pemberton*," declaring their attachment to the British government. * These men are continually harping on the great sin of our bearing arms, but the King of Britain may lay waste the world in blood and famine, and they, poor fallen souls, have nothing to say.

In some future paper I intend to distinguish between the different kind of persons who have been denominated Tories; for this I am clear in, that all are not so who have been called so, nor all men Whigs who were once thought so; and as I mean not to conceal the name of any true friend when there shall be occasion to mention him, neither will I that of an enemy who ought to be known, let his rank, station or religion be what it may. Much pains have been taken by some to set your Lordship's private character in an amiable light, but as it has chiefly been done by men who know nothing about you, and who are no ways remarkable for their attachment to us, we have no just authority for believing it. George the Third was imposed upon us by the same arts, but TIME, at length has done him justice, and the same fate may probably attend your Lordship. Your avowed purpose here, is to kill, conquer, plunder, pardon and enslave; and the ravages of your army through the Jerseys have been marked with as much barbarism as if you had openly professed yourself the prince of ruffians; not even the appearance of humanity has been preserved either on the march or the retreat of your troops; no general order, that I could ever learn, has ever been issued to prevent or even forbid

* I have ever been careful of charging offences upon whole societies of men, but as the paper referred to is put forth by an unknown set of men, who claim to themselves the right of representing the whole; and while the whole Society of Quakers admit its validity by a silent acknowledgement, it is impossible that any distinction can be made by the Public; and the more so because the New-York paper, of the 30th of December, printed by permission of our enemies, says that "*the Quakers begin to speak openly of their attachment to the British constitution*." We are certain that we have many friends among them, and wish to know them.

bid your troops from robbery where-ever they came, and the only instance of justice, if it can be called such, which has distinguished you for impartiality, is, that you treated and plundered all alike ; what could not be carried away have been destroyed, and mahogany furniture have been deliberately laid on the fire for fuel, rather than the men should be fatigued with cutting wood.† There was a time when the Whigs confided much in your supposed candour, and the Tories rested themselves on your favour ; the experiments have now been made, and failed ; and every town, nay every cottage, in the Jerseys, where your arms have been, is a testimony against you. How you may rest under this sacrifice of character I know not, but this I know that you sleep and rise with the daily curses of thousands upon you ; perhaps the misery which the Tories have suffered by your proffered mercy may give them some claim to their country's pity, and be in the end the best favour you could show them.

In a folio general order Book belonging to Col. Rohl's battalion, taken at Trenton, and now in possession of the Council of Safety for this State, the following barbarous order is frequently repeated, "*His Excellency the COMMANDER IN CHIEF orders, that all inhabitants which shall be found in arms, not having an officer with them, shall be immediately taken and hung up.*" How many you may thus have privately sacrificed we know not, and the account can only be settled in another world. Your treatment of prisoners, in order to distress them to enlist into your infernal service, is not to be equalled by any instance in Europe. Yet this is the humane Lord Howe and his brother, whom the Tories and their three-quarter kindred the Quakers, or some of them at least, have been holding up for patterns of justice and mercy !

A bad cause will ever be supported by bad means and bad men, and whoever will be at the pains of examining strictly into things, will find that one and the same spirit of opposition and impiety, more or less governs through your whole party in both countries : Not many days ago I accidentally fell in company with a person of this city, noted for espousing your

† As some people may doubt the truth of such wanton destruction, I think it necessary to inform, that one of the people called Quakers, who lives at Trenton, gave me this information at the house of Mr. Michael Hutchinson (one of the same profession) who lives near to Trenton ferry, on the Pennsylvania side ; Mr. Hutchinson being present.

our cause, and on my remarking to him, "that it appeared clear to me, by the late providential turn of affairs, that GOD Almighty was visible on our side," He replied, "we care nothing for that, you may have HIM, and welcome : if we have but enough of the devil on our side we shall do." However carelessly this might be spoken, matters not, 'tis still the insensible principle that directs all your conduct, and will at last most assuredly deceive and ruin you.

If ever a nation was mad and foolish, blind to its own interest and bent on its own destruction, it is Britain. There are such things as national sins, and though the punishment of individuals may be reserved to *another* world, national punishment can only be inflicted in *this* world. Britain, as a nation, is in my inmost belief the greatest and most ungrateful offender against God on the face of the whole earth : Blessed with all the commerce she could wish for, and furnished by a vast extension of dominion with the means of civilizing both the eastern and western world, she has made no other use of both than proudly to idolize her own "Thunder," and rip up the bowels of whole countries for what she could get ;—like Alexander she has made war her sport, and inflicted misery for prodigality sake. The blood of India is not yet rapid, nor the wretchedness of Africa yet requited. Of late she has enlarged her list of national cruelties by her butcherly destruction of the Caribbs of St. Vincents, and returning an answer by the sword to the meek prayer for *Peace, Liberty and Safety.*" These are serious things ; and whatever a foolish tyrant, a debauched court, a trafficking legislature or a blinded people may think, the national account with Heaven must some day or other be settled : All countries have sooner or later been called to their reckoning ; the proudest empires have sunk when the balance was struck ; and Britain, like an individual penitent, must undergo her day of sorrow, and the sooner it happens to her the better. As I wish it over, I wish it to come, but withal wish that it may be as light as possible,

Perhaps your Lordship has no taste for serious things ; by your connexion in England I should suppose not : Therefore I shall drop this part of the subject, and take it up in a line in which you will better understand me.

By what means, may I ask, do you expect to conquer America ? If you could not effect it in the summer when our army was less than yours, nor in the winter when we had none,

how are you to do it ? In point of generalship you have been outwitted, and in point of fortitude, outdone ; your advantages turn out to your loss, and show us that it is in our power to ruin you by gifts : Like a game of drafts we can move out of *one* square to let you come in, in order that we may afterwards take two or three for one ; and as we can always keep a double corner for ourselves, we can always prevent a total defeat. You cannot be so insensible as not to see that we have two to one the advantage of you, because we conquer by a drawn game, and you lose by it. Burgoyne might have taught your Lordship this knowledge ; he has been long a student in the doctrine of chances.

I have no other idea of conquering countries than by subduing the armies which defend them : Have you done this, or can you do this ? If you have not, it would be civil in you to let your proclamations alone for the present ; otherwise, you will ruin more Tories by your grace and favour than you will Whigs by your arms.

Were you to obtain possession of this city, you would not know what to do with it more than to plunder it. To hold it, in the manner you hold New-York, would be an additional dead weight upon your hands ; and if a general conquest is your object, you had better be without the city than with it. When you have defeated all our armies, the cities will fall into your hands of themselves ; but to creep into them in the manner you got into Princeton, Trenton, &c. is like robbing an orchard in the night before the fruit be ripe, and running away in the morning. Your experiment in the Jerseys is sufficient to teach you that you have something more to do than barely to get into other people's houses ; and your new converts, to whom you promised all manner of protection, and seduced into new guilt by pardoning them from their former virtues, must begin to have a very contemptible opinion both of your power and your policy. Your authority in the Jerseys is now reduced to the small circle which your army occupies, and your proclamation is no where else seen unless it be to be laughed at. The mighty subduers of the Continent are retreated into a nutshell, and the proud forgivers of our sins are fled from those they came to pardon ; and all this at a time when they were dispatching vessel after vessel to England with the great news of every day. In short, you have managed your Jersey expedition so very dexteriously

seriously that the dead only are conquerors, because none will dispute the ground with them.

In all the wars you have formerly been concerned in, you had only armies to contend with ; in this case you have both an army and a country to combat with. In former wars, the countries followed the fate of their capitals ; Canada fell with Quebec, and Minorca with Port Mahon or St. Phillips ; by subduing those, the conquerors opened a way into, and became masters of the country : Here it is otherwise ; if you get possession of a city here, you are obliged to shut yourselves up in it, and can make no other use of it, than to spend your country's money in. This is all the advantage you have drawn from New-York ; and you would draw less from Philadelphia, because it requires more force to keep it, and is much farther from the sea. A pretty figure you and the Tories would cut in this city, with a river full of ice, and a town full of fire ; for the immediate consequence of your getting here would be, that you would be cannonaded out again, and the Tories be obliged to make good the damage ; and this, sooner or later, will be the fate of New York.

I wish to see the city saved, not so much from military as from natural motives. 'Tis the hiding-place of women and children, and Lord Howe's proper business is with our armies. When I put all the circumstances together which ought to be taken, I laugh at your notion of conquering America. Because you lived in a little country where an army might run over the whole in a few days, and where a single company of soldiers might put a multitude to the route, you expected to find it the same here. It is plain that you brought over with you all the narrow notions you were bred up with, and imagined that a proclamation in the king's name was to do great things ; but Englishmen always travel for knowledge, and your Lordship, I hope, will return, if you return at all, much wiser than you came.

We may be surprised by events we did not expect, and in that interval of recollection you may gain some temporary advantage : Such was the case a few weeks ago, but we soon ripen again into reason, collect our strength, and while you are preparing for a triumph, we came upon you with a defeat. Such it has been, and such it would be were you to try it an hundred times over. Were you to garrison the places you might march over, in order to secure their subjection, (for

re-ember

remember you can do it by no other means) your army would be like a stream of water running to nothing. By the time you reached from New-York to Virginia you would be reduced to a string of drops not capable of hanging together ; while we, by retreating from State to State, like a river turning back upon itself, would acquire strength in the same proportion as you lost it, and in the end be capable of overwhelming you. The country in the mean time would suffer, but 'tis a day of suffering, and we ought to expect it. What we contend for is worthy the affliction we may go through. If we get but bread to eat, and any kind of rayment to put on, we ought, not only to be contented, but thankful. More than *that* we ought not to look for, and less than *that* Heaven has not yet suff' red us to want. - He that would sell his Birthright for a little *salt*, is as worthless as he who sold it for *porridge* without salt. And he that would part with it for a gay coat, or a *plain* coat, ought for ever to be a slave in buff. What are salt, sugar and finery to the inestimable blessing of " Liberty and Safety ?" Or what are the inconveniencies of a few months to the tributary bondage of ages ? The meanest peasant in America, blessed with these sentiments, is a happy man compared with a New-York Tory ; he can eat his morsel without repining, and when he has done, can sweeten it with a repast of wholesome air, he can take his child by the hand and bless it, without feeling the conscious shame of neglecting a parent's duty.

In publishing these remarks I have several objects in view : On your part they are, to expose the folly of your pretended authority as a Commissioner ; the wickedness of your cause in general ; and the impossibility of your conquering us at any rate. On the part of the public my meaning is, to show them their true and solid interest ; to encourage them to their own good, to remove the fears and falsities which bad men had spread and weak men had encouraged ; and to excite in all men a love for union and a cheerfulness for duty.

I shall submit one more case to you respecting your conquest of this country, and then proceed to new observations :

Suppose our armies in every part of the Continent were immediately to disperse, every man to his home, or where else he might be safe, and engage to re-assemble again on a certain future day ; it is clear that you would then have no army to contend with.

with, yet you would be as much at a loss in that case, as you are now; you would be afraid to send your troops in parties over the Continent, either to disarm or prevent us from assembling, lest they should not return; and while you kept them together, having no army of ours to dispute with, you could not call it a conquest; you might furnish out a pompous page in the London Gazette or the New-York paper, but when we returned at the appointed time, you would have the same work to do you had at first.

It has been the folly of Britain to suppose herself more powerful than she really is, and by that means have arrogated to herself a rank in the world she is not entitled to; for more than this century past she has not been able to carry on a war without foreign assistance. In Marlborough's campaigns, and from that day to this, the number of German troops and officers assisting her have been about equal with her own; ten thousand Hessians were sent to England last war to protect her from a French invasion; and she would have cut but a poor figure in her Canadian and West-Indian expeditions, had not America been lavish both of her money and men to help her along. The only instance in which she was engaged singly, that I can recollect, was against the rebellion in Scotland in forty five and forty six, and in that out of three battles, she was twice beaten, till by thus reducing their numbers (as we shall yours) and taken a supply ship that was coming to Scotland with cloaths, arms and money (as we have often done) she was at last enabled to defeat them. England was never famous by land; her officers have generally been suspected of cowardice; have more of the air of a dancing-master than a soldier, and by the sample we have taken prisoners we begin to give the preference to ourselves. Her strength of late has laid in her extravagance; but as her finances and her credit are now low, her sinews in that line begin to fail fast. As a nation she is the poorest in Europe; for were the whole kingdom, and all that is in it, to be put up to sale like the estate of a bankrupt, it would not fetch as much as she owes: Yet this thoughtless wretch must go to war, and with the avowed design too of making us beasts of burthen, to support her in riot and debauchery, and to assist her afterwards in distressing those nations, who are now our best friends. This ingratitude may suit a Tory, or the unchristian peevishness of a fallen Quaker, but none else.

'Tis the unhappy temper of the English to be pleased with any war, right or wrong, be it but successful ; but they soon grow discontented with ill-fortune, and 'tis an even chance that they are as clamorous for peace next summer, as the king and his ministers were for war last winter. In this natural view of things your Lordship stands in a very ugly, critical situation. Your whole character is staked upon your laurels ; if they wither, you wither with them ; if they flourish you cannot live long to look at them ; and at any rate, the black account hereafter is not far off. What lately appeared to us misfortunes, were only blessings in disguise ; and the seeming advantages on your side, have turned out to our profit. Even our loss of this city, as far as we can see, might be a principal gain to us : The more surface you spread over, the thinner you will be, and the easier wiped away ; and our consolation under that apparent disaster would be, that the estates of the Tories would become securities for the repairs. In short, there is no old ground we can fall upon, but some new foundation rises again to support us. *"We have put, Sir, our hands to the plough, and cursed be he that looketh back."*

Your king, in his speech to parliament last spring, declared to them, *"That he had no doubt but the great force they had enabled him to send to America, would effectually reduce the rebellious Colonies."* It has not, neither can it ; but it has done just enough to lay the foundation of its own next years ruin. You are sensible that you left England in a divided distracted state of politics, and, by the command you had here, you became a principal prop in the court party ; their fortunes rest on yours ; by a single express you can fix their value with the public, and the degree to which their spirits shall rise or fall ; they are in your hands as stock, and you have the secret of the ally with you. Thus situated and connected, you become the unintentional mechanical instrument of your own and their overthrow. The king and his ministers put conquest out of doubt, and the credit of both depended on the proof. — To support them in the interim, it was necessary you should make the most of every thing ; and we can tell by Hugh Gaine's New-York paper what the complexion of the London Gazettee is. With such a list of victories, the nation cannot expect you will ask new supplies ; and to confess your want of them, would give the lie to your triumphs, and

and impeach the king and his ministers of treasonable deception. If you make the necessary demand at home, your party sinks; if you make it not, you sink yourself; to ask it now, is too late, and to ask it before, was too soon, and unless it arrive quickly will be of no use. In short, the part you have to act, cannot be acted; and I am fully persuaded that all you have to trust to, is to do the best you can with what force you have got, or little more. Though we have greatly excelled you in point of generalship and bravery of men, yet, as a people, we have not entered into the full soul of enterprize; for I, who know England and the disposition of the people well, am confident that it is easier for us to effect a revolution there, than you a conquest here: A few thousand men landed in England with the declared design of deposing the present king, bringing his ministers to trial, and setting up the Duke of Gloucester in his stead, would assuredly carry their point, while you were groveling here ignorant of the matter. As I send all my papers to England, this, like COMMON SENSE, will find its way there; and though it may put one party on their guard, it will inform the other and the nation in general of our design to help them.

Thus far, Sir, I have endeavoured to give you a picture of present affairs: You may draw from it what conclusions you please. I wish as well to the true prosperity of England as you can, but I consider *Independence as America's natural Right and Interest*, and never could see any real disservice it would do to Britain. If an English merchant receives an order and is paid for it, it signifies nothing to him who governs the country—This is my creed of politics. If I have any where expressed myself overwarmly, it is from a fixt immovable hatred I have, and ever had, to cruel men and cruel measures. I have likewise an aversion to monarchy, as being too debasing to the dignity of man; but I never troubled others with my notions till very lately, nor ever published a syllable in England in my life. What I write is pure nature, and my pen and my soul have ever gone together. My writings I have always given away, reserving only the expence of printing and paper, and sometimes not even that. I have never courted either fame or interest, and my manner of life, to those who know it, will justify what I say. My study is to be useful, and if your Lordship love mankind as well as I do, you would, seeing you cannot conquer us, cast about and lend your hand

and towards accomplishing a peace. Our INDEPENDENCE, with God's blessing, we will maintain against all the world; but as we wish to avoid evil ourselves, we wish not to inflict it on others. I am never over-inquisitive into the secrets of the Cabinet, but I have some notion, that if you neglect the present opportunity, that it will not be in our power to make a separate peace with you afterwards; for whatever treaties of alliances we form, we shall most faithfully abide by; wherefore you may be deceived, if you think you can make it with us at any time. A lasting INDEPENDENT peace is my wish, end and aim; and to accomplish that "I pray GOD" "the" Americans may never be defeated, and I trust while they "have good officers, and are well commanded," and willing to "be commanded, "that they NEVER WILL."

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, January 13, 1777.

THE

T H E

AMERICAN CRISIS,

NUMBER III.

BY THE AUTHOR OF COMMON SENSE.

IN the progress of politics, as in the common occurrences of life, we are not only apt to forget the ground we have travelled over, but frequently neglect to gather up experience as we go. We expend, if I may so say, the knowledge of every day on the circumstances that produce it, and journey on in search of new matter and new refinements : but as it is pleasant, and sometimes useful, to look back, even to the first periods of infancy, and trace the turns and windings through which we have passed, so we may likewise derive many advantages by halting a while in our political career, and taking a review of the wondrous complicated labyrinth of little more than yesterday.

Truly, may we say, that never did man grow old in so short a time ! We have crowded the business of an age into the compass of a few months, and have been driven through such a rapid succession of things, that, for the want of leisure to think, we unavoidably wasted knowledge as we came, and have left nearly as much behind us as we brought with us. But the road is yet rich with the fragments, and, before we fully lose sight of them, will repay us for the trouble of stopping to pick them up.

Were a man to be totally deprived of memory, he would be incapable of forming any just opinion ; every thing about him would seem a chaos ; he would have even his own history to ask from every one ; and by not knowing how the world went on in his absence, he would be at a loss to know how

it ~~would~~ to go on when he recovered, or rather, returned to it again. In like manner, tho' in a less degree, a too great inattention to past occurrences retards and bewilders our judgement in every thing ; while, on the contrary, by comparing what is past with what is present, we frequently hit on the true character of both, and become wise with very little trouble. It is a kind of countermarch, by which we get into the rear of Time, and mark the movements and meaning of things as we make our return. There are certain circumstances, which, at the time of their happening, are kind of riddles, and as every riddle is to be followed by its answer, so those kind of circumstances will be followed by their events, and those events are always the true solution. A considerable space of time may lapse between, and unless we continue our observations from the one to the other, the harmony of them will pass away unnoticed : But the misfortune is, that partly from the pressing necessity of some instant things, and partly from the impatience of our own tempers, we are frequently in such a hurry to make out the meaning of every thing as fast as it happens, that we thereby never truly understand it ; and not only start new difficulties to ourselves by so doing, but, as it were, embarrass providence in her good designs.

I have been civil in stating this fault on a large scale, for, as it now stands, it does not appear to be levelled against any particular set of men ; but were it to be refined a little farther, it might afterwards be applied to the Tories, with a degree of striking propriety : Those men have been remarkable for drawing sudden conclusions from single facts. The least apparent mishap on our side, or the least seeming advantage on the part of the enemy, have determined with them the fate of a whole campaign. By this hasty judgment they have converted a retreat into a defeat ; mistook generalship for error, while every little advantage purposely given the enemy, either to weaken their strength by dividing it, embarrass their councils by multiplying their objects, or to secure a greater post by the surrender of a less, has been instantly magnified into a conquest. Thus, by quartering ill policy upon ill principles, they have frequently promoted the cause they designed to injure, and injured that which they intended to promote.

It is probable the campaign may open before this Number comes from the press. The enemy have long laid idle and amused themselves with carrying on the war by proclamations only. While they continue their delay our strength encreases, and were they to move to action now, it is a circumstantial proof they have no reinforcement coming; wherefore, in either case, the comparative advantage will be ours. Like a wounded disabled whale they want only time and room to die in; and though in the agony of their exit, it may be unsafe to live within the flapping of their tail, yet every hour shortens their date and lessens their power of mischief. If any thing happens while this Number is in the press, it will afford me a subject for the last pages of it. At present I am tired of waiting; and as neither the enemy, nor the state of politics have yet produced any thing new, I am thereby left in the field of general matter undirected by any striking or particular object. This Crisis, therefore, will be made up rather of variety than novelty, and consist more of things useful than things wonderful.

The success of the cause, the union of the people, and the means of supporting and securing both, are points which cannot be too much attended to. He who doubts of the former, is a disponding coward, and he who wilfully disturbs the latter, is a traitor. Their characters are easily fixt, and under these short descriptions I leave them for the present.

One of the greatest degrees of sentimental union which America ever knew, was in denying the right of the British parliament "to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever." The declaration is in its form an almighty one, and is the loftiest stretch of arbitrary power that ever one set of men, or one country claimed over another. Taxation was nothing more than putting the declared right into practice; and this failing, recourse was had to arms, as a means to establish both the right and the practice or to answer a worse purpose, which will be mentioned in the course of this Number. And in order to repay themselves the expence of an army, and to profit by their own injustice, the Colonies were, by another law declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, and of consequence all property therein would fall to the conquerors.

The Colonies, on their part, FIRST denied the right; SECONDLY, they suspended the use of taxable articles, and petitioned against the practice of taxation: and these failings they,

they, **THIRDLY**, defended their property by force, as soon as it was forcibly invaded, and in answer to the declaration of rebellion and non-protection published their declaration of Independence and right to self-protection.

These, in a few words, are the different stages of the quarrel; and the parts are so intimately and necessarily connected with each other as to admit of no separation. A person, to use a trite phrase, must be a Whig or a Tory in the lump. His feelings, as a man, may be wounded; his charity as a Christian may be moved; but his political principles must go through all the cases on one side or the other. He cannot be a Whig in *this* stage, and a Tory in *that*.

If he says he is against the United Independence of the Continent, he is to all intents and purposes against her in all the rest; because **THIS LAST** comprehends the whole. And he may just as well say, that Britain was right in declaring us rebels; right in taking us, and right in declaring her "*right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever.*" It signifies nothing what neutral ground, of his own creating, he may skulk upon for shelter, for the quarrel in no stage of it hath afforded any such ground; and either we or Britain are absolutely right or absolutely wrong through the whole.

Britain, like a gamester nearly ruined, hath now put all her losses into one bet, and is playing a desperate game for the total. If she wins it, she wins from me my life; she wins the Continent as the forfeited property of rebels, the right of taxing those that are left as reduced subjects; and the power of binding them as slaves: And the single die which determines this unparalleled event is, Whether we support our Independence or the overturn it. This is coming to the point at once. Here is the touch-stone to try men by. *He that is not a supporter of the Independent States of America, in the same degree that his religious and political principles would suffer him to support the government of any other country, of which he called himself a subject, is in the American sense of the word, a TORY; and the instant that he endeavours to bring his Toryism into practice, he becomes a TRAITOR.* The first can only be detected by a general test, and the law hath already provided for the latter.

It is unnatural and impolitic to admit men who would root up our Independence to have any share in our legislation, either as electors or representatives; because the support of our Independence rests in a great measure on the vigour and
purity

capacity of our public bodies. Would Britain, even in a time of peace, much less in war, suffer an election to be carried by men who professed themselves not to be her subjects, or allow such to sit in Parliament? Certainly not.

But there are a certain species of Tories with whom conscience or principle hath nothing to do, and who are so from avarice only.—Some of the first fortunes in the Continent, on the part of the Whigs, are staked on the issue of our present measures. And shall disaffection only be rewarded with security? Can any thing be a greater inducement to a miserly man, than the hope of making his mammon safe? And though the scheme be fraught with every character of folly, yet, so long as he supposes, that by doing nothing materially criminal against America on one part, and by expressing his private disapprobation against Independence, as a palliative with the enemy on the other part, he stands thereby in a safe line between both, while, I say, this ground be suffered to remain, craft and the spirit of avarice will point it out, and men will not be wanting to fill up this most contemptible of all characters.

These men, ashamed to own the sordid cause from whence their disaffection springs, add thereby meanness to meanness, by endeavouring to shelter themselves under the mask of hypocrisy; that is, they had rather be thought to be Tories from *some kind of principle*, than Tories by having *no principle at all*.

But till such time as they can show some real reason, natural, political or conscientious, on which their objections to Independence are founded, we are not obliged to give them credit for being Tories of the first stamp, but must set them down as Tories of the last.

In the Second Number of the Crisis I endeavoured to show the impossibility of the enemy making any conquest of America; that nothing was wanting on our part but patience and perseverance, and that, with these virtues, our success as far as human speculation could discern, seemed as certain as fate. But as there are many among us, who, influenced by others, have regularly gone back from the principles they once held, in proportion as we have gone forward; and as it is the unfortunate lot of many a good man to live within the neighbourhood of disaffected ones; I shall therefore, for the sake of confirming the one and recovering the other, endeavour, in the space of a page or two, to go over some of the leading principles

ples in support of Independence. It is a much pleasanter task to prevent vice than to punish it ; and however our temper may be gratified by resentment, or our national expences eased by forfeited estates, harmony and friendship is nevertheless the happiest condition a country can be blest with.

The principle arguments in support of Independence may be comprehended under the four following heads,

FIRST, The natural right of the Continent to Independence.

SECONDLY,—Her interest in being independent.

THIRDLY,—The necessity.—And,

FOURTHLY,—The moral advantages arising therefrom.

I. THE NATURAL RIGHT of the Continent to Independence, is a point which never yet was called in question. It will not even admit of a debate. To deny such a right, would be a kind of atheism against nature : And the best answer to such an objection would be, "*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.*"

II. THE INTEREST of the Continent in being independent is a point as clearly right as the former. America, by her own internal industry, and unknown to all the powers of Europe, was at the beginning of the dispute, arrived at a pitch of greatness, trade and population, beyond which it was the interest of Britain not to suffer her to pass, lest she should grow too powerful to be kept subordinate. She began to view this country with the same uneasy malicious eye, with which a covetous guardian would view his ward whose estate he had been enriching himself by for twenty years, and saw him just arriving at manhood. And America owes no more to Britain for her present maturity, than the ward would to his guardian for being twenty-one years of age. That America hath flourished *at the time* she was under the government of Britain, is true ; but there is every natural reason to believe, that had she been an independent country from the first settlement thereof, uncontrouled by any foreign power, free to make her own laws, regulate and encourage her own commerce, she had by this time been of much greater worth than now. The case is simply this, The first settlers in the different Colonies were left to shift for themselves, unnoticed and unsupported by any European government ; but as the tyranny and persecution of the old world daily drove numbers to the new, and, as by the favour of Heaven, on their industry and perseverance, they grew into importance, so, in a like degree, they became

an object of profit to the greedy eyes of Europe. It was impossible in this state of infancy, however thriving and promising, that they could resist the power of any armed invader that should seek to bring them under his authority. In this situation Britain thought it worth her while to claim them, and the Continent received and acknowledged the claimer. It was in reality, of no very great importance who was her master, seeing, that from the force and ambition of the different powers of Europe she must, till she acquired strength enough to assert her own right, acknowledge some one. As well, perhaps, Britain as another; and it might have been as well to have been under the States of Holland as any. The same hopes of engrossing and profiting by her trade, by not oppressing it too much, would have operated alike with any master, and produced to the Colonies the same effects. The clamor of protection, likewise, was all a farce; because, in order to make *that* protection necessary, she must first, by her own quarrels create us enemies. Hard terms, indeed!

To know whether it be the interest of the Continent to be independent, we need only ask this easy, simple question: Is it the interest of a man to be a boy all his life? The answer to one, will be the answer to both. America hath been one continued scene of legislative contention from the first king's representative to the last; and this was unavoidably founded in the natural opposition of interest between the old country and the new. A governor sent from England, or receiving his authority therefrom, ought never to have been considered in any other light than that of a genteel commissioned spy, whose private business was information, and his public business a kind of civilized oppression. In the first of these characters he was to watch the temper, sentiments and disposition of the people, the growth of trade, and the increase of private fortunes; and in the latter, to suppress all such acts of the Assembly, however beneficial to the people, which did not directly or indirectly throw some encrease of power or profit into the hands of those who sent him.

America, till now, could never be called a *free country*, because her legislation depended on the will of a man three thousand miles distant, whose interest was in opposition to ours, and who, by a single "no," could forbid what law he pleased.

The freedom of trade, likewise, is, to a trading country, an article of such vast importance, that the principal source of wealth depends upon it, and it is impossible that any country can flourish, as it otherwise might do, whose commerce is engrossed, cramped and fettered by the laws and mandates of another... yet these evils, and more than I can here enumerate, the Continent has suffered by being under the government of Great Britain. By an Independence we clear the whole at once—put an end to the business of unanswered petitions and fruitless remonstrances—exchange Britain for Europe—shake hands with the world—live at peace with mankind—and trade to any market where we best can buy and sell.

III. The necessity, likewise, of being independent, even before it was declared, became so evident and important, that the Continent ran the risk of being ruined every day she delayed it. There were reasons to believe that Britain would endeavour to make a European matter of it, and rather than lose the whole, would dismember it like Poland, and dispose of her several claims to the highest bidder. Genoa failing in her attempts to reduce Corsica, made a sale of it to the French, and such traffics have been common in the old world. We had at that time no Ambassador in any part of Europe, to counteract her negotiations, and by that means she had the range of every foreign Court uncontradicted on our part. We even knew nothing of the treaty for the Hessians, till it was concluded, and the troops ready to embark. Had we been independent before, we had probably prevented her obtaining them. We had no credit abroad, because of our rebellious dependency. Our ships could claim no protection in foreign ports, because we afforded them no justifiable reason for granting it to us. The calling ourselves subjects, and at the same time fighting against the power we acknowledged, was a dangerous precedent to all Europe. If the grievances justified our taking up arms, they justified our separation; if they did not justify our separation, neither could they justify our taking up arms. All Europe was interested in reducing us as rebels, and all Europe (or the greatest part at least) is interested in supporting us as Independent States. At home our condition was still worse: Our currency had no foundation and the fall of it would have ruined Whig and Tory alike. We had no other law than a kind of moderated passion; no other civil power, than an honest mob; and no other protection

tion, than the temporary attachment of one man to another. Had Independence been delayed a few months longer, this Continent would have been plunged into irrecoverable confusion : Some violent for it, some against it, till in the general cabal, the rich would have been ruined, and the poor destroyed. It is to Independence that every tory owes the present safety of his lives in ; for by *that*, and *that only*, we emerged from a state of dangerous suspense, and became a regular people.

The necessity likewise of being independent, had there been no rupture between Britain and America, would in a little time have brought one on. The encreasing importance of commerce, the weight and perplexity of legislation, and the entangled state of European politics, would daily have shewn to the Continent the impossibility of continuing subordinate ; for, after the coolest reflections on the matter, *this must be allowed*, that Britain was too jealous of America, to govern it justly ; too ignorant of it, to govern it well ; and too distant from it, to govern it at all.

IV. But, what weigh most with all men of serious reflection, are the MORAL ADVANTAGES arising from Independence :— War and desolation are become the trades of the old world ; and America neither could, nor can be under the government of Britain, without becoming a sharer of her guilt, and a partner in all the dismal commerce of death. The spirit of duelling, extended on a national scale, is a proper character for European wars. They have seldom any other motive than pride, or any other object than fame. The conquerors and the conquered are generally ruined alike, and the chief difference at last is, that the one marches home with his honours, and the other without them. 'Tis the natural temper of the English to fight for a feather, if they suppose that feather to be an affront ; and America, without the right of asking why, must have abetted in every quarrel, and abided by its fate. It is a shocking situation to live in, that one country must be brought into all the wars of another, whether the measures are right or wrong, or whether she will or not ; yet this, in the fuller extent, was, and ever would be, the unavoidable consequence of the connection. Surely ! the Quakers forgot their own principles when in their late testimony, they called *this connection* with these military and miserable appendages hanging to it, "*The happy constitution.*"

Britain, for centuries past, have been nearly fifty years out of every hundred at war with some power or other. It certainly ought to be a conscientious as well as political consideration with America, not to dip her hands in the bloody work of Europe. Our situation affords us a retreat from their cabals, and the present happy union of the States bids fair for extirpating the future use of arms from one quarter of the world; yet such have been the irreligious politics of the present leaders of the Quakers, that, for the sake of they scarce know what, they would cut off every hope of such a blessing by tying this Continent to Britain, like Hector to the chariot-wheel of Achilles, to be dragged through all the miseries of endless European wars.

The connection, viewed from this ground, is distressing to every man who has the feelings of humanity. By having Britain for our master, we became enemies to the greatest part of Europe, and they to us; and the consequence was, war inevitable. By being our own masters, independent of any foreign one, we have Europe for our friends, and the prospect of an endless peace among ourselves. Those who were advocates for the British government over these Colonies, were obliged to limit both their arguments and their ideas to the period of an European peace only: The moment Britain became plunged in war, every supposed convenience to us vanished away, and all we could hope for was *not to be ruined*. Could this be a desirable condition for a young country to be in?

Had the French pursued their fortune immediately after the defeat of Braddock, last war, this city and province had then experienced the woful calamities of being a British subject. A scene of the same kind might happen again; for America, considered as a subject to the crown of Britain, would ever have been the seat of war and the bone of contention between the two powers.

On the whole, if the future expulsion of arms from one quarter of the world be a desirable object to a peaceable man;—if the freedom of trade to every part of it can engage the attention of a man of business;—if the support or fall of millions of currency can affect our interest;—if the entire possession of states, by cutting off the lordly claims of Britain over the soil, deserves the regard of landed property;—and if the right of making our laws, uncontrouled by royal or ministerial spies or mandates, be worthy our care as freemen;—then are all men interested in the support of Independence,

pendence, and may he that supports it not, be driven from the blessing, and live unpitied beneath the servile sufferings of scandalous subjection !

We have been amused with the tales of ancient wonders ; we have read, and wept over, the histories of other nations ; applauded, censured, or pitied, as their cases affected us.—The fortitude and patience of the sufferers—the justness of their cause—the weight of their oppressions and oppressors—the object to be saved or lost—with all the consequences of a defeat or a conquest—have, in the hour of sympathy, bewitched our hearts and chained it to their fate : But where is the power that ever made war upon petitioners ? Or where is the war on which a world was staked till now ?

We may not, perhaps, be wise enough to make all the advantages we ought of our Independence, but they are, nevertheless, marked and presented to us with every character of GREAT and GOOD, and worthy the hand of HIM who sent them. I look through the present trouble to a time of tranquility, when we shall have it in our power to set an example of peace to all the world. Were the Quakers really impressed and influenced by the quiet principles they profess to hold, they would, however they might disapprove the means, be the first of all men to approve of INDEPENDENCE, because, by separating from the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, it affords an opportunity, never given to man before, of carrying their favourite principle of peace into general practice, by establishing governments that shall hereafter exist without wars. Oh ye fallen, cringing priests and Pemberton-ridden people ! what more can we say of ye than that a religious Quaker is a valuable character, and a political Quaker, a real Jesuit.

Having thus gone over some of the principal points in support of Independence, I must now request the reader to return back with me to the period when it first began to be a public doctrine, and examine the progress it has made among the various classes of men. The era I mean to begin at, is the breaking out of hostilities, April 19th, 1775. Until this event happened, the Continent seemed to view the dispute as a kind of lawsuit for a matter of right, litigating between the old country and the new ; and she felt the same kind and degree of horror, as if she had seen an oppressive plaintiff, at the head of a band of ruffians, enter the court, while the
cause

cause was before it, and put the judge, the jury, the defendant and his council to the sword. Perhaps a more heart-sick convulsion never reached a country with the same degree of power and rapidity before, and never may again. Pity for the sufferers, mixt with indignation at the violence, and heightened with apprehensions of undergoing the same fate, made the affair of Lexington, the affair of the Continent. Every part of it felt the shock, and all vibrated together. A general promotion of sentiment took place : Those who had drank deeply into Whiggish principles, that is, the right and necessity not only of opposing, but wholly setting aside the power of the crown as soon as it became practically dangerous (for in theory it was always so) stepped into the first stage of Independence ; while another class of Whigs, equally sound in principle, but not so sanguine in enterprise, attached themselves the stronger to the cause, and fell close in with the rear of the former ; their partition was a mere point. Numbers of the moderate men, whose chief fault, *at that time*, arose from their entertaining a better opinion of Britain than she deserved, convinced now of their mistake, gave her up, and publicly declared themselves good Whigs. While the Tories, seeing it was no longer a laughing matter, either sunk into silent obscurity, or contented themselves with coming forth and abusing General Gage : Not a single advocate appeared to justify the action of that day ; it seemed to appear to every one with the same magnitude, struck every one with the same force, and created in every one the same abhorrence. From this period we may date the growth of Independence.

If the many circumstances, which happened at this memorable time, be taken in one view, and compared with each other, they will justify a conclusion which seems not to be attended to ; I mean a fixt design in the king and ministry of driving America into arms, in order that they might be furnished with a pretence for seizing the whole Continent, as the immediate property of the Crown. A noble plunder for hungry courtiers.

It ought to be remembered, that the first petition from the Congress, was at this time unanswered on the part of the British king. That the motion, called Lord North's motion, of the 20th of February, 1775, arrived in America the latter end of March. This motion was to be laid by the several governors,

governors, then in being, before the Assembly of each province; and the first Assembly before which it was laid, was the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in May following. This being a just state of the case, I then ask, why were hostilities commenced between the time of passing the resolve in the House of Commons, of the 20th of February, and the time of the Assembly meeting to deliberate upon it? Degrading and infamous as that motion was, there is, nevertheless, reason to believe, that the king and his adherents were afraid the Colonies would agree to it, and least they should, took effectual care they should not, by provoking them with hostilities in the interim. They had not the least doubt at that time of conquering America at one blow; and what they expected to get by a conquest being infinitely greater than any thing they could hope to get either by taxation or accommodation, they seemed determined to prevent even the possibility of hearing each other, lest America should disappoint their greedy hopes of the whole by listening even to their own terms. On the one hand they refused to hear the petition of the Continent, and on the other hand took effectual care the Continent should not hear them.

That the motion of the 20th of February and the orders for commencing hostilities were both concerted by the same persons, and not the latter by General Gage, as was falsely imagined at first, is evident from an extract of a letter of his to administration, read among other papers in the House of Commons; in which he informs his masters, *That though their idea of his disarming certain counties was a right one, yet it required him to be master of the country, in order to enable him to execute it.* This was prior to the commencement of hostilities, and consequently before the motion of the 20th of February could be deliberated on by the several Assemblies.

Perhaps it may be asked, why was the motion past, if there was at the same time a plan to aggravate the Americans not to listen to it? Lord North assigned one reason himself, which was, *a hope of dividing them.* This was publicly tempting them to reject it; that if, in case, the injury of arms should fail of provoking them sufficiently, the insult of such a declaration might fill it up. But by passing the motion and getting it afterwards rejected in America, it enabled them, in their wretched idea of politics, among other things, to hold

hold up the Colonies to foreign powers with every possible mark of disobedience and rebellion. They had applied to those powers not to supply the Continent with arms, ammunition, &c. and it was necessary they should incense them against us, by assigning on their own part some seeming reputable reason why. By dividing, it had a tendency to weaken the States, and likewise to perplex the adherents of America in England. But the principal scheme, and that which has marked their character in every part of their conduct, was a design of precipitating the Colonies into a state which they might afterwards deem rebellion, and under that pretence put an end to all future complaints, petitions and remonstrances, by seizing the whole at once. They have ravaged one part of the globe, till it could glut them no longer; their prodigality required new plunder, and through the East-India article &c., they hoped to transfer their rapine from that quarter of the world to this. Every designed quarrel has its pretence, and the same barbarian avarice accompanied the *Plant* to America, which ruined the country that produced it.

That men never turn rogues without turning fools, is a maxim, sooner or later, universally true. The commencement of hostilities, being in the beginning of April, was, of all times, the worst chosen: The Congress were to meet the tenth of May following, and the distress the Continent felt at this unparalleled outrage gave a stability to *That Body*, which no other circumstance could have done. It suppressed too all inferior debates and bound them together by a necessitous affection, without giving them time to differ upon trifles. The suffering likewise, softened the whole body of the people into a degree of pliability, which laid the principal foundation stone of union, order and government; and which, at any other time, might only have fretted and then faded away unnoticed and unimproved: But Providence, who best knows how to time her misfortunes as well as her immediate favours, chose this to be the time: And who dares dispute it?

It did not seem the disposition of the people at this crisis to heap petition upon petition, while the former remained unanswered: The measure, however, was carried in Congress, and a second petition was sent; of which I shall only remark, that it was submissive even to a dangerous fault, because the prayer of it appealed solely to, what is called, the prerogative

gative of the Crown, while the matter in dispute was confessed to be constitutional. But even this Petition flattering as it was, was still not so harmonious as the chink of cast, and consequently not sufficiently grateful to the tyrant and his ministry. From every circumstance it is evident, that it was the determination of the British court to have nothing to do with America but to conquer it fully and absolutely. They were certain of success, and the field of battle was to be the only place of treaty. I am confident there are thousands and tens of thousands in America who wonder *now* they should ever think otherwise; but the sin of that day was the sin of civility, yet it operated against our present good in the same manner that a civil opinion of the devil would against our future peace.

Independence was a doctrine scarce and rare even towards the conclusion of the year Seventy-five: All our politics had been founded on the hope or expectation of making the matter up—a hope, which, though general on the side of America, had never entered the head or heart of the British court. Their hope was conquest and confiscation. Good Heavens! what volumes of thanks does America owe to Britain! What infinite obligations to the fool, that fills, with paradoxical vacancy, the throne! Nothing but the sharpest essence of villainy, compounded with the strongest distillation of folly, could have produced a menstruum that would have effected a separation.—The Congress in Seventy-four administered an abortive medicine to Independence, by prohibiting the importation of goods, and the succeeding Congress rendered the dose still more dangerous by continuing it. Had Independence been a settled system with America (as Britain has advanced) she ought to have doubled her importation, and prohibited in some degree her exportation. And this single circumstance is sufficient to acquit America before any jury of nations of having a Continental plan of Independency in view: A charge, which had it been true, would have been honorable, but is so grossly false, that either the amazing ignorance, or the wilful dishonesty, of the British court is effectually proved by it.

The second petition like the first produced no answer; it was scarcely acknowledged to be received; the British court were too determined in their villainy even to act it artfully, and in their rage for conquest neglected the necessary subtilties for obtaining it. They might have divided, distracted and played a thousand tricks with us had they been as cunning as they were cruel.

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This last indignity gave a new spring to Independence. Those who knew the savage obstinacy of the king and the jobbing gambling spirit of the court predicted the fate of the petition as soon as it was sent from America ; for the men being known, their measures were easily foreseen. As politicians we ought not so much to ground our hope on the reasonableness of the thing we ask, as on the reasonableness of the person of whom we ask it : who would expect discretion from a fool, candour from a tyrant, or justice from a villain ?

As every prospect of an accommodation seemed now to fail fast, men began to think seriously on the matter ; and their reason being thus stript of the false hope which had long encompassed it, became approachable by fair debate ; yet still the bulk of the people hesitated ; they startled at the novelty of Independence, without once considering that our getting into arms at first was a more extraordinary novelty, and that all other nations had gone through the work of Independence before us. They doubted, likewise, the ability of the Continent to support it, without reflecting, that it required the same force to obtain an accommodation by arms as an Independence. If the one was acquirable, the other was the same ; because to accomplish either, it was necessary that our strength should be too great for Britain to subdue ; and it was too unreasonable to suppose, that with the power of being masters, we should submit to be servants. * Their cau-
tion,

* In this state of political suspense the pamphlet *Common Sense* made its appearance, and the success it met with does not become me to mention. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Samuel and John Adams were severally spoken of as the supposed Author. I had not, at that time, the pleasure either of personally knowing or being known to the two last Gentlemen. The favour of Dr. Franklin's friendship I possessed in England, and my introduction to this part of the world was through his patronage. I happened, when a school boy, to pick up a pleasing natural history of Virginia, and my inclination from that day of seeing the western side of the Atlantic never left me. In October, Seventy-five, Dr. Franklin proposed giving me such materials as were in his hands, towards completing a history of the present transactions, and seemed desirous of having the first volume out by the next spring. I had then formed the outlines of *Common Sense*, and finished nearly the first part ; and as I supposed the Doctor's design in getting out a history, was to open the new year with a new system, I expected to surprise him with a production on that subject much earlier than he thought of ; and without informing him of what I was doing, got it ready for the press as fast as I conveniently could, and sent him the first pamphlet that was printed off.

tion, at this time, was exceedingly misplaced; for if they were able to defend their property and maintain their rights by arms, they consequently were able to defend and support their Independence; and in proportion as these men saw the necessity and rightness of the measure, they honestly and openly declared and adopted it, and the part they have acted since, have done them honour, and fully established their characters. Error in opinion has this peculiar advantage with it, that the foremost point of the contrary ground may at any time be reached by the sudden exertion of a thought; and it frequently happens in sentimental differences that some striking circumstance, or some forceable reason, quickly conceived, will effect in an instant what neither argument nor example could produce in an age.

I find it impossible in the small compass I am limited to, to trace out the progress which Independence has made on the minds of the different classes of men, and the several reasons by which they were moved. With some, it was a passionate abhorrence against the king of England and his ministry as a set of savages and brutes; and these men, governed by the agony of a wounded mind, were for trusting every thing to hope and Heaven and bidding defiance at once. With others, it was a growing conviction that the scheme of the British court was to create, ferment and drive on a quarrel for the sake of confiscated plunder; Men of this cast ripened into Independence in proportion as the evidence increased. While a third class, conceiving it was the true interest of America, internally and externally, to be her own master, give their support to Independence, step by step, as they saw her abilities to maintain it enlarge. With many it was a compound of all these reasons; while those, who were too callous to be reached by neither, remained, and still remain Tories.

The *legal necessity* of being independent with several collateral reasons, is pointed out in an elegant masterly manner, in a charge to the grand jury for the district of Charlestown, by the Honorable WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON, Esq; Chief Justice of South Carolina. This performance, and the ADDRESS of the CONVENTION of New-York, are pieces, in my humble opinion, of the first rank in America.

The principal causes why Independence has not been so universally supported as it ought, are, *fear and indolence*, and

The causes why it has been opposed, are, *avarice, downright idleness, and lust of personal power.* There is not such a Being in America as a Tory from conscience : Some secret defect or other is interwoven in the character of all those, be they men or women, who can look with patience on the brutality, luxury and debauchery of the British court, and the violations of their army here. A woman's virtue must sit very lightly on her who can even hint a favourable sentiment in their behalf. It is remarkable that the whole race of prostitutes in New-York were Tories; and the schemes for supporting the Tory cause, in this city, for which several are now in jail, and one hanged, were concerted and carried on in common bawdy-houses, assisted by those who kept them.

The connection between vice and meanness is a fit object for satire, but when the satire is a fact, it cuts with the irresistible power of a diamond. If a Quaker, in defence of his just rights, his property and the chastity of his house, takes up a musket, he is expelled the meeting : but the present king of England who seduced and took into keeping a sister of their society, is revered and supported with repeated testimonies, while the friendly noble from whom she was taken (and who is now in this city) continues a drudge in the service of his rival, as if proud of being cuckolded by a creature called a king.

Our support and success depend on such a variety of men and circumstances, that every one, who does but wish well, is of some use : There are men who have a strange awkwardness to arms, yet have hearts to risk every shilling in the cause, or in support of those who have better talents for defending it. Nature, in the arrangement of mankind, has fitted some for every service in life : Were all soldiers, all would starve and go naked, and were none soldiers, all would be slaves. As *disaffection* to Independence, is the badge of a Tory, so *affection* to it is the mark of a Whig ; and the different services of the Whig : down from those who nobly contribute every thing, to those, who have nothing to render but their wishes, tend all to the same centre, though with different degrees of merit and ability. The larger we make the circle, the more we shall harmonize, and the stronger we shall be. All we want to shut out, is disaffection, and that excluded, we must accept from each other such duties as we are best fitted to bestow. A narrow system of politics, like a narrow system of religion, is calculated only to sour the temper, and live at variance with mankind.

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All we want to know in America is simply this, Who is for Independence and who is not? Those who are for it, will support it, and the remainder will undoubtedly see the reasonableness of their paying the charges; while those who oppose, or seek to betray it, must expect the more rigid fate of the jail and the gibbet. There is a kind of bastard generosity, which, by being extended to all men, is as fatal to society, on one hand, as the want of true generosity is on the other. A lax manner of administering justice, falsely termed moderation, has a tendency both to dispirit public virtue and promote the growth of public evils. Had the late Committee of safety taken cognizance of the last testimony of the Quakers, and proceeded against such delinquents as were concerned therein, they, had probably, prevented the treasonable plans which have been concerted since. When one villain is suffered to escape, it encourages another to proceed, either from a hope of escaping likewise, or an apprehension that we dare not punish. It has been a matter of general surprize, that no notice was taken of the incendiary publication of the Quakers, of the 20th of November last: A publication evidently intended to prom the sedition and treason, and encourage the enemy who were then within a day's march of this city, to proceed on and possess it. I here present the reader with a memorial, which was laid before the board of safety a few days after the testimony appeared. Not a member of that Board, that I conversed with but expressed the highest detestation of the perverted principles and conduct of the Quaker junto, and that the Board would take the matter up; notwithstanding which, it was suffered to pass away unnoticed, to the encouragement of new acts of treason, the general danger of the cause and the disgrace of the State.

To the HONOURABLE the COUNCIL or SAFETY of the State of Pennsylvania.

At a meeting of a reputable number of the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia impressed with a proper sense of the justice of the cause which this Continent is engaged in, and animated with a generous fervor for supporting the same, it was resolved, that the following be laid before the Board of Safety:

WE profess liberality of sentiment to all men; with this distinction only, that those who do not deserve it, would become wile and seek to deserve it. We hold the pure doctrine

of universal liberty of conscience, and conceive it our duty to endeavour to secure that sacred right to others, as well as to defend it for ourselves; for we undertake not to judge of the religious r & titude of tenets, but leave the whole matter to Him who made us.

"We persecute no man, neither will we abet in the persecution of any man for religion sake; our common relation to others being that of fellow-citizens and fellow subjects of one civil community; and in this line of connection we hold out the right hand of fellowship to all men. But we should conceive ourselves to be unworthy members of the FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES OF AMERICA, were we unconcernedly to see or suffer any treasonable wound, public or private, directly or indirectly, to be given against the peace and safety of the same. We enquire not into the rank of the offenders, nor their religious persuasion; we have no business with either, our part being only to find them out, and exhibit them to justice.

"A printed paper dated the 30th of December, and signed "John Pemberton, whom we suppose to be an inhabitant of this city, has late been dispersed abroad, a copy of which accompanies this. Had the framers and publishers of that paper conceived it their duty to exhort the youth, and others, of their society: to a patient submission under the present trying visitations, and humbly to wait the event of Heaven towards them, they had therein shewn a Christian temper, and we had been silent; but the anger and political virulence with which their instructions are given, and the abuse with which they stigmatize all ranks of men, not thinking like themselves, leave no doubt on our minds from what spirit their publication proceeded. And it is disgraceful to the pure cause of truth, that men can dally with words of the most sacred import, and play them as mechanically off as if religion consisted only in contrivance. We know of no instance, in which the Quakers have been compelled to bear arms, or do any thing which might strain their conscience; wherefore their advice "to withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary instructions" and ordinances of men," appear to us a false alarm, and could only be reasonably calculated to gain favour with our enemy's, when they were seemingly on the brink of invading this State, or, what is still worse, to weaken the hands of our defence, that their entrance into this

this city might be made practicable and easy.

"We disclaim all tumult and disorder in the punishment of offenders; and wish to be governed, not by temper but by reason, in the manner of treating them. We are sensible that our cause has suffered by the two following errors; first, by an ill-judged lenity to traitorous persons in some cases; and secondly, by only a passionate treatment of them in others. For the future we disown both, and wish to be steady in our proceedings, and serious in our punishments.

"Every State in America has by the repeated voice of its inhabitants, directed and authorised the Continental Congress to publish a formal Declaration of Independence of, and Separation from the oppressive king and parliament of Great Britain; and we look on every man an enemy who does not in some line or other give his assistance towards supporting the same; at the same time we consider the offence to be heightened to a degree of unpardonable guilt, when such persons, under the shew of religion, endeavour, either by writing, speaking, or otherwise, to subvert, overturn, or bring reproach upon the Independence of this Continent as declared by Congress.

"The publishers of the paper, signed "*John Robinson*," have called in a loud and passionate manner on their friends and connections, to "*withstand and refuse*" obedience to whatever "*instructions or ordinances*" may be published, not warranted by (what they call) "THAT HAPPY CONSTITUTION UNDER WHICH THEY AND OTHERS LONG ENJOYED TRANQUILLITY AND PEACE." If this be not treason, we know not what may properly be called by that name.

"To us it is a matter of surprize and astonishment, that men with the word *peace, peace,*" continually on their lips, should be so fond of living under, and supporting a government, and at the same time calling it "*happy*," which is never better pleased than when at war—that hath filled India with carnage and famine—Africa with slavery—and tampered with Indians and Negroes to cut the throats of the freemen of America. We conceive it a disgrace to this State to harbour or wink at such palpable hypocrisy. But as we seek not to hurt the hair of any man's head, when we can make ourselves safe without, we wish such persons to restore peace to themselves and us, by removing themselves to some part of the king of Britain's dominions, as by that means they may live unmolested
by

by us or we by them ; for our fixt opinion is, that those who do not deserve a place among us, ought not to have one.

" We conclude, with requesting the Council of Safety to take into their consideration the paper signed "*John Pemberton*;" and if it should appear to them to be of a dangerous tendency, or of a treasonable nature, that they would commit the signer, together with such other persons as they can discover were concerned therein, into custody, until such time as some mode of trial shall ascertain the full degree of their guilt and punishment ; in the doing of which, we wish their judges, whoever they may be to disregard the man, his connections, interest, riches, poverty or principles of religion, and to attend to the nature of his offence only."

THE most cavilling sectarian cannot accuse the foregoing with containing the least ingredient of persecution. The free spirit on which the American cause is founded, disdains to mix with such an impurity, and leave it a rubbish fit only for narrow and suspicious minds to grovel in : Suspicion and persecution are weeds of the same dunghill, and flourish best together. Had the Quakers minded their religion and their business, they might have lived through this dispute in enviable ease, and none would have molested them. The common phrase with these people is, "*our principals are peace*." To which may be replied, *and your practices are the reverse* ; for never did the conduct of men oppose their own doctrine more notoriously than the present race of the Quakers. They have artfully changed themselves into a different sort of people to what they used to be, and yet have the address to persuade each other they are not altered ; like antiquated virgins they see not the havoc deformity hath made upon them, but pleasantly mistaking wrinkles for dimples, conceit themselves yet lovely, and wonder at the stupid world for not admiring them.

Did no injury arise to the publick by this apostacy of the Quakers from themselves, the public would have nothing to do with it ; but as both the design and consequences are pointed against a cause in which the whole community are interested, it is therefore no longer a subject confined to the cognizance of the meeting only ; but comes as a matter of criminality before either the authority of the particular State in which it is acted, or of the Continent against which it operates. Every attempt
now

now to support the authority of the king or parliament of Great Britain over America, is treason against every State; therefore it is impossible that any one can pardon or screen from punishment an offender against all.

But to proceed. While the infatuated Tories of this and other States were last spring talking of Commissioners, accommodation, making the matter up, and the Lord knows what hum and nonsense, their good king and ministry were gloriating themselves with the revenge of reducing America to an *unconditional submission*, and solacing each other with the certainty of conquering it in *one campaign*.

The following quotations are from the Parliamentary Register of the debates of the House of Lords, March 5th, 1776.

"The Americans," says Lord Talbot, § "have been obstinate, undutiful and ungovernable from the very beginning, from their first early and infant settlements; and I am every day more and more convinced that this people will never be brought back to their duty, and the subordinate relation they stand in to this country, till reduced to an *unconditional effectual submission*; no concession on our part, no lenity, no endurance, will have any other effect but that of increasing their insolence."

"The struggle," says Lord Townsend, † "is now a struggle for power; the die is cast, and the ONLY POINT which now remains to be determined, is, in what manner the war can be most effectually prosecuted and speedily finished, in order to procure that *unconditional submission*, which has been so ably stated by the noble Earl with the white staff" (meaning Lord Talbot); "and I have no reason to doubt that the measures now pursuing will put an end to the war in the course of a SINGLE CAMPAIGN." "Should it linger longer, we shall then have reason to expect that some foreign power will interfere, and take advantage of our domestic troubles and civil distractions."

Lord Littleton, "My sentiments are pretty well known. I shall only observe now, that lenient measures have had no other effect than to produce insult after insult; that the more we conceded, the higher America rose in her demands, and the

§ Steward of the King's household. † formerly General Townsend at Quebec, and late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

"the more insolent she has grown. It is for this reason that I am now for the most effective and decisive measures; and am of opinion, that no alternative is left us, but to relinquish America for ever, or finally determine to compel her to acknowledge the legislative authority of this country; and it is the principal of an *unconditional submission* I would be for maintaining."

Can words be more expressive than these? Surely the Tories will believe the Tory Lords! The truth is, they *do believe* them, and know as fully as any Whig on the Continent knows, that the king and ministry never had the least design of an accommodation with America, but an absolute unconditional conquest. And the part which the Tories were to act, was, by downright lying, to endeavour to put the Continent on its guard, and to divide and sow discontent in the minds of such Whigs as they might gain an influence over. In short, to keep up a distraction here that the force sent from England might be able to conquer in "*one campaign*." They and the ministry were, by a different game, playing into each other's hands. The cry of the Tories in England was, "*no reconciliation, no accommodation*," in order to obtain the greater military force; while those in America were crying nothing but "*reconciliation and accommodation*," that the force sent might conquer with the less resistance.

But this "*single campaign*" is over, and America not conquered. The whole work is yet to do, and the force much less to do it with. Their condition is both despicable and deplorable: Out of cash—out of heart—and out of hope. A country furnished with arms and ammunition, as America now is, with three millions of inhabitants, and three thousand miles distant from the nearest enemy that can approach her, is able to look and laugh them in the face.

Howe appears to have two objects in view, either to go up the North-River, or come to Philadelphia.

By going up the North-river, he secures a retreat for his army thro' Canada, but the ships must return, if they return at all, the same way they went; and as our army would be in the rear, the safety of their passage down is a doubtful matter. By such a motion he shuts himself from all supplies from Europe but thro' Canada, and exposes his army and navy to the danger of perishing. The idea of his cutting off the communication,

communication between the eastern and southern States, by means of the North-river, is merely visionary. He cannot do it by his shipping; because no ship can lay at anchor in any river within reach of the shore; a single gun would drive a frigate from such a station: This was fully proved last October at Fort Mifflin and Lee, where one gun only, on each side the river, obliged two frigates to enter and be towed off in an hour's time. Neither can he cut it off by his army; because the several posts they must occupy, would divide them almost to nothing, and expose them to be picked up by ours like pebbles on a river's bank; but admitting he could, where is the injury? Because while his whole force is cantoned out as centres over the water, they will be very innocently employed, and the moment they march into the country, the communication opens.

The most probable object is Philadelphia, and the reasons are many. Howe's business in America is to conquer it, and in proportion as he finds himself unable to the task, he will employ his strength to distress women and weak minds, in order to accomplish through *their* fears what he cannot effect by his *own* force. His coming or attempting to come to Philadelphia is a circumstance that proves his weakness: For no general, that felt himself able to take the field and attack his antagonist, would think of bringing his army into a city in the summer time; and this mere shifting the scene from place to place, without effecting any thing, has febleness and cowardice on the face of it, and holds him up in a contemptible light to any one who can reason justly and firmly. By several informations from New York, it appears that their army in general, both officers and men, have given up the expectation of conquering America; their eye, now, is fixt upon the spoil. They suppose Philadelphia to be rich with stores, and as they think to get more by robbing a town than by attacking an army, their movement towards this city is probable. We are not now contending against an army of soldiers, but against a band of thieves, who had rather plunder than fight, and have no other hope of conquest than by cruelty.

They expect to get a mighty booty and strike another general panic by making a sudden movement and getting possession of this city; but unless they can march *out* as well as *in*, or get the entire command of the river, to move off their plunder,

plunder, they may probably be stop't with the stolen goods upon them. They have never yet succeeded wherever they have been opposed but at fort Washington. At Charlestown their defeat was effectual. At Ticonderoga they ran away. In every skirmish at Kingsbridge and the White Plains they were oblig'd to retreat, and the instant our arms were turned upon them in the Jerseys, they turned likewise, and those that turned not were taken.

The necessity of always fitting our internal police to the circumstances of the times we live in, is something so strikingly obvious that no sufficient objection can be made against it. The safety of all societies depend upon it; and where this point is not attended to, the consequence will either be a general languor or a tumult. The encouragement and protection of the good subjects of any State, and the suppression and punishment of bad ones, are the principal objects for which all authority is instituted, and the line in which it ought to operate. We have in this city a strange variety of men and characters and the circumstances of the times require they should be publicly known; it is not the number of Tories that hurt us, so much, as the not finding out who they are; men must now take one side or the other, and abide by the consequences: The Quakers, trusting to their short sighted sagacity, have, most unluckily for them, made their declaration in their last testimony, and we ought now to take them at their word. They have voluntarily read themselves out of the Continental meeting, and cannot hope to be restored to it again, but by payment and penitence. Men whose political principles are founded on avarice, are beyond the reach of reason, and the only cure for Toryism of this cast, is to tax it. A substantial good drawn from a real evil, is of the same benefit to society, as if drawn from a virtue; and where men have not public spirit to render themselves serviceable, it ought to be the study of government to draw the best use possible from their vices. When the governing passion of any man or set of men is once known, the method of managing them is easy; for even misers, whom no public virtue can impress, would become generous, could a heavy tax be laid upon covetousness.

The Tories have endeavoured to insure their property with the enemy, by forfeiting their reputation with us; from which may be justly inferred, that their governing passion is avarice. Make them as much afraid of losing on one side as the other,

and

and you stagger their Toryism ; make them more so, and you reclaim them ; for their principles are to worship any power they are most afraid of.

This method of considering men and things together, opens into a large field for speculation, and affords me opportunity of offering some observations on the state of our currency, so as to make the support of it go hand in hand, with the suppression of disaffection and the encouragement of public spirit.

The thing which first presents itself in inspecting the state of the currency, is, that we have too much of it, and that there is a necessity of reducing the quantity, in order to increase the value. Men are daily growing poor by the very means they take to get rich, for in the same proportion that the prices of all goods on hand are raised, the value of all money laid by is reduced. A simple case will make this clear ; Let a man have one hundred pounds cash, and as many goods on hand as will to-day sell for £ 20, but not content with the present market-price, he raises them to 40, and by so doing, obliges others in their own defence to raise cent per cent likewise ; in this case, it is evident that his hundred pounds laid by is reduced fifty pounds in value ; whereas, had the markets dropt cent per cent his goods would have sold but for ten, but his hundred pounds would have risen in value to two hundred ; because it would then purchase as many goods again, or support his family as long again as before. And strange as it may seem, he is one hundred and fifty pounds the poorer for raising his goods to what he would have been, had he lowered them ; because the forty pounds his goods sold for, is by the general rise of the market, cent per cent, rendered of no more value than the ten pounds would be, had the market fallen in the same proportion ; and consequently the whole difference of gain or loss is on the different values of the hundred pounds laid by, viz from fifty to two hundred. This rage for raising goods is for several reasons much more the fault of the Tories than the Whigs ; and yet the Tories (to their shame and confusion ought they to be told of it) are by far the most noisy and discontented. The greatest part of the Whigs, by being now either in the army or employed in some public service, are buyers only and not sellers, and as this evil has its original in trade, it cannot be charged on those who are out of it.

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But the grievance is now become too general to be remedied by partial methods, and the only effectual cure is to reduce the

the quantity of money; with half the quantity we should be richer than we are now, because the value of it would be doubled, and consequently our attachment to it increased; for it is not the number of dollars a man has, but how far they will go, that makes him either rich or poor.

These two points being admitted, viz. that the quantity of money is too great, and that the prices of goods can be only effectually reduced by reducing the quantity of the money, the next point to be considered is, The method how to reduce it?

The circumstance of the times as before observed, require that the public characters of all men should now be fully understood, and the only general method of ascertaining this by an oath or affirmation, renouncing all allegiance to the king of Great-Britain, and to support the Independence of the United States as declared by Congress. Let at the same time, a tax of ten, fifteen or twenty per cent per annum, to be collected quarterly, be levied on all property. These alternatives, by being perfectly voluntary, will take in all sorts of people. Here is the test; here is the tax. He who takes the former, conscientiously proves his affection to the cause, and binds himself to pay his quota by the best services in his power, and is thereby justly exempt from the latter: and those who chuse the latter, pay their quota in money, to be excused from taking the former, or to let it be the price paid to us for their supposed, though mistaken, insurance with the enemy.

But this is only a part of the advantage which would arise by knowing the different characters of men. The Whigs stake every thing on the issue of their arms, while the Tories, by their disaffection, are sapping and undermining their strength, and, of consequence, the prosperity of the Whigs is the more exposed thereby; and whatever injury their estates may sustain by the movements of the enemy must either be borne by themselves who have done every thing which have yet been done, or by the Tories who have not only done nothing, but have by their disaffection invited the enemy on.

In the present crisis we ought to know square by square, and house by house, who are in real allegiance with the United Independent States, and who are not. Let but the line be made clear and distinct, and all men will then know what they are to trust to. It would not only be good policy, but strict justice, to raise fifty or an hundred thousand pounds, or more if it is necessary, out of the estates and property of the king.

king of England's votaries, resident in Philadelphia, to be still hated, as a reward to those inhabitants of the city and State, who should turn out and repulse the enemy, should they attempt their march this day: and likewise, to bind the property of all such persons, to make good the damages which that of the Whigs might sustain. In the undistinguishable mode of conducting a war, we frequently make reprisals at sea, on the vessels of persons in England who are friends to our cause compared with the residentiary Tories among us.

In every former publication of mine, from Common Sense down to the last Crisis, I have generally gone on the charitable supposition, that the Tories were rather a mistaken than a criminal people, and have applied argument after argument with all the candour and temper I was capable of, in order to set every part of the case clearly and fairly before them, and if possible to reclaim them from ruin to reason. I have done my duty by them, and have now done with that doctrine, taking it for granted, that those who yet hold their disaffection, are, either a set of avaricious miscreants, who would sacrifice the Continent to save themselves, or a banditti of hungry traitors, who are hoping for a division of the spoil. To which may be added, a list of Crown or Proprietary dependents, who, rather than go without a Portion of power would be content to share it with the devil. Of such men there is no hope; and their obedience will only be according to the danger that is set before them, and the power that is exercised over them.

A time will shortly arrive in which, by ascertaining the characters of persons now, we shall be guarded against their mischiefs then; for in proportion as the enemy despair of conquest, they will be trying the arts of seduction and the force of fear by all the mischiefs they can inflict. But in war we may be certain of these two things, viz. that cruelty in an enemy, and motions made with more than usual parade, are always signs of weakness. He that can conquer, finds his mind too free and pleasant to be brutish; and he that intends to conquer never makes too much show of his strength.

We now know the enemy we have to do with. While drunk with the certainty of victory they disdained to be civil; and in proportion as disappointments makes them sober, and their apprehensions of an European war alarm them, they will become cringing and artful; honest they cannot be. But our answer to them, in either condition they may be in, is short and

and full, "As Free and Independent States we are willing to
"make peace with you to morrow, but we can neither bear nor
"reply in any other character."

If Britain cannot conquer us, she proves, that she is neither
able to govern or protect us, and our particular situation now
is such, that any connection with her would be unwisely exchang-
ing a half defeated enemy for two powerful ones. Europe,
by every appearance and information, is now on the eve, nay,
on the morning twilight of a war, and any alliance with *George*
the Third brings *France* and *Spain* upon our backs; a separation
from him attach them to our side; therefore, the only road to
Peace, Honour and Commerce is INDEPENDENCE.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, April 19, 1777.

And in the Fourth year of the UNION, which GOD preserves!

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Bartholomew Knapp
His Collection of Tracts.
Bound Boston Nov. 4th 1772

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